852
527
[533]
[562]
[534]

a harsh, often rasping voice. Only men play the Okinawan samisen, a stringed instrument slightly different from its Japanese counterpart. Men also join in the dancing.

In a village parties on the fifth or sixth day after the birth of a child and on his first birthday happen frequently. They are an important part of social life. A relative or a friend is always celebrating one or the other occasion, either in the village or in a neighboring one. These celebrations increase, especially for the men, the number of social occasions and recreational opportunities during the year in a culture where holidays and rest days are comparatively few. (There are no weekly rest days or week ends).

After the first birthday, little attention is paid to the succeeding ones until the thirteenth. The child's experience from the time he begins to walk until he reaches school comes from family life and neighborhood play. In my observation, there is no rigid, customary way of bringing up the child. It is toilet trained around one year of age. This does not seem to be forced. Training comes through imitation. Parents do not punish the child for indiscretions, though they are quick to lift him off the mat if he begins wetting. With young boys, the father may make a hissing sound while the child's penis is out. One has the impression that it is a gradual transition, mostly effected by imitation or gentle suasion.

861
863

Male children are not circumcised. Circumcision is known only to those who have learned of it through books, foreign residence, or from others who have this information.[9]

304

In early training, boys are not taught that they are superior to girls. But when she reaches school age, the girl is likely to be kept busier around the house. Before the war, there may have been a greater subordination of girls to boys. But any conscious training of girls to subordinate themselves to boys is unnecessary. The child grows up in a culture in which the father is waited on, the sons favored in inheritance, and in which the men have a richer social life.

867
562

Parents are kind to their children. They seldom spank a child, though an exasperated parent may give the child a sharp slap. There is little nagging or shouting at children in anger. In my opinion,

855
593

9 Two young men, school teachers about 23 years old, expressed great astonishment when asked about circumcision. They did not know it existed.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

there is little forcing of children,[10] In my opinion and this might be just as significant in accounting for the easy going security of Okinawans as that coming from breast feeding and carrying on the back. But a single element explanation is not a fruitful approach to this complex subject. 861 155

The chief factors in child development, in my observation, are the child's early and continuous contact with the mother, and the "public" life of the child[11] and its early exposure to the activities, the admonishments, the corrections, the admiration, and the fondling of others. Older women of the village have a major part in this, but young men and women look after a child, advise it, correct it, perhaps feed it. This "public" life is made easier because a child carried on the back, or toddling, or, later, in walking is seldom out of the view of a relative. It is common to talk with a villager in a public place and to discover that two or three of the children playing there are cousins, nieces, nephews, or more distant relatives. It is this combination of impressions and pressures, in my opinion, rather than planned training, which induces conformity and makes a child part of the village life. Certainly the standards of public and private behavior, transmitted from the parent, is reinforced at a much earlier age than in American society, by community approval, disapproval, and assistance. Part of this is due to the fact that a village, even its government, takes on some of the attributes of a large family. 861 [867]

Okinawan rural children grow up speaking Okinawan (Okinawago). There is no standard Okinawan and local dialectical differences are very marked. The chief distinctions seem to be in accent and 197

[Text continues top of P. 268 -- analyst]

10 There is an interesting passage in Captain Hall's voyage. Hall's party observed a boy tumbling. He stopped when he saw he was observed and could not be induced to continue. Hall's company asked an Okinawan friend to get the boy to continue. This he did without success, and feigned anger when the boy would not go on. Thereupon the persuasion stopped, the Okinawan observing, "It was for his own amusement that he began, and probably for his own amusement he will do so again." The boy resumed his tumbling when he was ignored. Hall wrote that the Okinawan showed good sense in not compelling the boy to continue "that as a task, which he had begun as an amusement, and which he had discernment enough to know would be unpleasant for us to witness in any other way. By this treatment of their children, mutual cordiality and freedom of intercourse are encouraged. It was probably owing to this mode of education that the children became at once familiar with us." Account of a voyage to west Corea and the Great Loochoo, as cited, 211. [861] [155]

11 This happy phrase, I believe, was first used by Miss A. M. Bacon in her still excellent book, Japanese girls and women, New York, 1907.

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

can at least check all transients. Another important duty is to prevent the use of explosives by fishermen, a difficult if not impossible assignment, for he must catch the fisherman *flagrante delicto* when he lands with fish killed in this way. There is no indication that villagers assist the policeman in detecting offenders.

Policing the village itself is not a difficult job. The absence of crime and the low incidence of quarrels, disputes, and brawls would seem to make policing unnecessary. Nevertheless, the policeman interferes at times in disputes. He considers it his duty when actual blows are exchanged and somebody is hurt. In such a case he "investigates," takes notes, and makes a report to the police department. During the entire field work, reportable incidents occurred at about the rate of one a month; in the two or three cases where violence occurred, the matter was settled peacefully later, although the policeman kept a record of it. The rare quarrels which do occur are usually the result of drinking or domestic disagreements, generated by financial problems.

The policeman plays the role of judge and jury. In one case a young man hit a woman and was temporarily detained by the policeman until he made apologies to the victim. In disputes over business transactions, the policeman often arbitrates. In a dispute in which a Taira woman was accused of cheating a trader from another village, the policeman heard the case and ordered the Taira woman to make refunds over a period of time. The villagers seem to accept such arbitration. Serious disagreements seem to be unthinkable, and everyone fears public censure and ostracism. Court action is extremely rare and is referred to the provincial courts in the town of Nago.

The policeman is given high status by the villagers and commands respect. He remains, probably by his own choice, a neutral person in village affairs. He attends village functions, where he is given a place among village leaders. Being friendly with many families, he visits and is visited by other men. It was noted that fishermen sometimes send a special catch to the policeman. But since this is a courtesy which is also common among farmers with regard to nonfarming people, such as teachers, one should not think of such actions as bribery. Mothers use the policeman as a threat in disciplining children. "If you do such a bad thing again, I'll take you to the police station." This, however, does not seem to instill any fear of his person, but rather a respect towards the general area in which the policeman lives. Village children play freely with the policeman's children, but his courtyard is entered less frequently by children than that of other villagers.

The head of the General Affairs Department at the township office is charged with supervision of public order. It is not clear how much this is a self-assigned task. During several occasions, when an alarm

853 There are no food taboos during pregnancy, and after birth mothers
262 can continue to eat what they wish except for certain "hard" foods,
[843] such as octopus, whale meat, and certain kinds of fish which are believed to stop the flow of milk. To stimulate lactation, the mother is given papaya boiled with flour and noodles or a medicine made from herbs.

♣
♣
♣

Chapter 13

Infancy

858 The infant is considered a helpless, pitiable treasure who is incapable
155 of knowing, understanding, or learning until he is around 6 years old.
855 If this senseless child is treated affectionately and indulgently, he will
177 grow to be a healthy, happy adult.

With the spread of Japanese influence throughout Okinawa, according to informants, there evolved another belief, which in Taira is complementary to the idea of the senseless child. This new belief is vaguely conceptualized by most young parents but was verbalized concretely by at least two sets of parents. "Children are the gift of gods.* They are godly until they are 7 years old." Exoneration of misbehavior on the part of the child under 7 (6 years according to Western count) conjures up in the mind of the observer a picture of willful capricious gods who are totally unpredictable. A shrug of the shoulder and a phrase which completely defines both attitude and resignation in Japanese is, "helpless, against one's will." Because children are godlike in nature, they do not know any better; because they do not know any better they are godlike in nature. Just why and how a child outgrows this temperament could not be explained by the parents. These beliefs foster the extreme indulgence, protection, and nurturance of young babies. Their physical and emotional needs are attended to constantly, with a great deal of affection.

[861]

* This notion may well have been influenced by Christian as much as by Japanese ideas.

herself from head to toe when she had left her diaperless on the floor for a few minutes. She had assumed that the child had completed elimination and had gone out to rinse the soiled diaper.

When the infant is anywhere from 22 days to 10 months old, the mothers start trying to anticipate urination before the baby wets his diapers. Each mother trains herself to her child's particular cues, squirming, peculiar facial expressions, and so on, or keeps a kind of mental time check. Holding the infant in a semisitting position out over the edge of the porch, and supporting him under his knees with her hands and at his back with her chest, she coaxes gently, repeating "shi-shi" until he urinates onto the ground outside. If the mother is successful in her efforts, she hugs, kisses, and praises the infant. On the other hand, if she does not reach him in time and he is already wet, she will hold the child over the wet diaper and say "shi-shi." This is to ensure that he has fully eliminated, or if the interval between diaper checks has been long, to make certain that he does not need to urinate again before putting on a fresh change. In these instances she does not praise unless the infant does urinate or eliminate at her coaxing, but she does not punish him for urinating in his diapers.

Although mothers may desire bladder control to develop, their statements do not indicate that they conceive of holding the child out as training. In discussing the practice, mothers seemed more concerned about the number of diapers they had to wash or buy. With a great deal of pride one mother reported that she never had to wash a diaper except when it was soiled with feces. Another bragged that she had only had to buy diapers once, and this was for her first child. Treatment of bladder control at a later period raises further doubt that this practice is meant for training purposes. Pertinent here, too, is the belief that children are incapable of learning at this early date.

While a few mothers who have the time to look after their babies continue to avoid wet diapers, most of them eventually abandon the routine and leave it to the child to train himself. When they resume normal activities following childbirth, an older sibling takes over the care of the infant, and the mother does not instruct the older child to continue the practice. Fear for the safety of the baby keeps her from doing so. Once she straps the baby onto the young caretaker's back, she expects him to remain there until she or another adult unstraps him. Teen-age caretakers seldom bother to change wet diapers until it becomes unbearable. If the grandmother is the chief caretaker, however, she will continue the practice. For the greater part of the first year, the infant urinates in his diaper, frequently wetting his caretaker. Just before the child turns one, most mothers will reduce the amount of

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

862 into their term, but one mother reported that she nursed her first son
[853] until the day before the second was born. Curiously, the determination
[861] with which mothers wean contrasts sharply with their very indulgent nurturant handling of the young child, who now encounters a period of withdrawal.

There is a month-long period of what seems, to the observer, indecision and vacillation on the part of the mother. The child is refused the breast, but, if he persists and becomes vociferous in his protests, the mother nurses him. She and others present, however, are no longer solicitous and protective. Derisive comments are directed against him, and, finally, at the end of the month drastic steps are taken. When mothers stated in their interviews that it took four or five days to wean, it usually meant after the final drastic measures were taken.

[513] The child who has slept beside his mother from birth is simply put to sleep with an aunt, grandmother, grandfather, father, or older sibling. In some instances an overnight trip to the city proves extremely convenient for the mother, who leaves the child behind instead of taking him with her as usual. If merely denying the breast does not work, big patches of black paper used for toothaches, backaches, and bruises are pasted on the chest, and the baby is told that the mother is suffering from pain there. "The black paper frightens them and we pretend to wince with pain if the child tries to nurse," report mothers. The black paper proves to be very effective. When this device is not used, another similarly drastic in nature is resorted to. Red pepper or bitter medicine is rubbed into the breast so that the child attempting to suckle is promptly punished with a very unpleasant burning sensation. Frequently a combination of these techniques is applied to wean what a mother terms a very difficult child.

[861] Shaming is a technique that is directed not only to the child but also to the mother. "Ah, shame! Hide the breast," says the mother to the child, or, "Hide, hide, drinking mother's milk!" says she, pulling one end of her blouse flap over the suckling child's head.

On one occasion an old man approached a mother who was nursing her 1-year-old. Immediately the mother pushed the child's head down to acknowledge the elder's presence. The old man, on the other hand, pulled the breast, taking the nipple from the child's mouth. "A big baby! You should not be drinking your mother's milk!" he scolded in a growling voice. As the little girl started to scream and cry, he laughed and, squeezing the breast, squirted milk into her face. The mother laughed with him, then mocked an attack on the old man to pacify the crying child.

Another technique which uses threat to the mother was applied very

867 593 as well as comfort him. The support and the nurturance of his older brothers and sisters help in softening the blow and may also function as role model behavior. Even children who had shortly been weaned were observed responding very nurturantly and affectionately toward their newborn siblings. It is difficult to rely wholely on the premise that the greater emphasis placed on the child by his grandmother and the constant attention paid to his status as an older sibling would nullify any aggressive intents. The wistful statement made by a 10-year-old in the form of a wish to be his baby sister because she is loved and indulged by everyone certainly indicates envy as well as the child's clear view of the protection and nurturance given to young infants.

866 In summary, this period is an unhappy interlude for the Taira child. He is forced to give up the indulgencies of infancy. He is punished for demanding behavior and must now confine dominating behavior to his grandmother. He must shift his dependence from his mother to his grandparents and siblings and finally to his peers. He does this only after a period of stormy protests.

♣
♣
♣

Chapter 15

Kindergarten

872 858 It is necessary to define the term "kindergarten child" as it is used in Taira. The group includes all children from weaning until the age of 6. The younger ones are carried to the morning sessions, whereas the older ones go on their own. Kindergarten may thus be likened to a mass baby-sitting session. An adult, scolding an 8-year-old who smears mud all over concrete walls, by calling him a kindergarten child is belittling his intellectual maturity. Finding a newly planted field trampled, an adult will quickly volunteer: "Oh, it must have been the kindergarten children; they don't know any better."

[861] Taira adults feel that children under 6 years "do not have sense." Because of this belief, they are considered uneducable. Serious training and instruction pertinent to the standards and values of Taira society

are therefore generally postponed until the child is believed to be endowed with this mysterious capacity to "understand and know." Kindergarten children pilfer from gardens, have temper tantrums, and attack each other physically, but very little enforcement takes place. "They are only children, we can't expect them to know any better," say adults.

In spite of this distinction, there is not a complete laissez-faire handling of the still "senseless" child. On the contrary, the child is subject to a number of restrictions. Adults assiduously attempt to train him to say "Please" and "Thank you," "Good morning," "Good day," and "Good-bye." One mother and her eldest daughter were observed trying to teach the youngest child, an 8-month-old girl, to say "Thank you." A piece of brown sugar was extended, withdrawn, given and taken from the baby until she had twice performed the act indicating "Thank you." Mother and daughter took the baby's hands, folded one over the other, palm side up and raised it, saying at the same time, "Ah-ah," baby talk for "Thank you." The situation was not without fussing and screaming on the part of the young child.

Adults often push the young child's head down to say "Hello," and, if he lets out screams of protest, all laugh hilariously. The child inevitably joins in the laughter and the adults taunt, "Know-nothing." Three and 4-year-olds playing in the dirt along the lanes are picked up and taken to the faucets for a wash down and a scolding, "Dirty! Cat!" Although such enforcement occurs, it is negated when the child starts crying. "Here, here, don't cry; mother was bad" (for scolding you) placates the adult, hugging and cradling the child.

One mother complained that her tomato patch was constantly being raided. When asked whether she knew who was doing it, she said, "Yes, they are kindergarten children." Questioned further as to why she did not scold them or talk to their parents, she said, "It's no use, they are too young to talk to, and besides, I would not like to talk to their mothers because, who knows, my own girls who are under 6 years old may be doing something like that too."

Playing with water is the favorite pastime of young children. During all times of the day a group of them gather at the water tank or at faucets to puddle and "wash." When the water supply was limited, adults would pause in passing by to scream, "Eeyah!" once, then go on, shaking their heads while the children paused only momentarily to look up and then continued with their play.

In the morning, after adults have departed for the fields and mountains and older children have left the village for school, the kindergarten child leaves home with two or three sweet potatoes in his hand

868
wiggles her hips and otherwise makes movements that are not per- 535
mitted in the classical Okinawan dance.

Kindergarten children are usually asleep by 8:30 in the winter and 857
9:00 in the summer. They sleep an average 8 hours. Ten o'clock is 513
considered to be proper bedtime for all people. The village bell is rung to remind everyone that the day has ended. The entire family sleeps on the mattresses spread on the floor with wooden pillows. In winter the heavy quilts are taken down. Children vary in their bedtime. Those who feel tired fall asleep soon after the evening meal. Often the grandparents lie down with the small children. If children accompany parents on a visit, they lie down in their father's or mother's lap, or on the floor to sleep. Since not all adults go to sleep at 10:00, older children may stay up longer, particularly during moonlight nights. Few children take naps except during the summer, when the heat makes everyone drowsy and slows down work during midday. Once in a while a young child goes home to lie down for a nap.

The kindergarten child's day has been an active and carefree one. 857
He is seldom alone. "Do not play alone, go and play with others. If you 155
play alone, people might think that others dislike you," instruct par- 156
ents in Taira. Anyone passing a child playing alone would remark, "How lonely he seems." Furthermore, mothers worry about a child being alone "because he is more apt to do naughty things or get into dangerous play."

A 4- or 5-year-old may sometimes find himself being a caretaker, but 857
generally he is not considered very reliable, and being a "senseless" 855
individual, he is not held responsible by the village for anything that 861
might happen to his charges. It is the mother who is held culpable and is censured in this case.

One mother was severely criticized by her neighbors when she punished her 4-year-old boy for abandoning his 2-year-old sibling. The children had been sent out to play. When the older boy came home for supper, he faced an angry mother who berated him for thinking only of his own pleasure and leaving his little brother on the main road and to the dangers of passing trucks. She spanked the boy, tied his hands and legs briefly, and left the crying child behind when she went to the village store with his younger sibling.

In another case, a grandmother grumbled about the "laxity" and 857
irresponsibility of the mother. A 5-year-old was carrying her month- 854
old sibling who was sleeping on the back in a twisted position due to loose strappings. "Come here! Your mother, where is she . . . how could she leave this child with you! Almost falling . . . ," the old woman mumbled as she unstrapped the peacefully sleeping baby and

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

863 515 good grooming but was at present always a mess. One of us was present at the home one day when a group of younger girls came by to call the 8-year-old to accompany them to the river to wash their heads. The girl dashed around the house and yard searching for a nonexistent bar of soap and finally was crossly told by her mother that there was none and that she really did not need washing. Nevertheless, the girl gathered some hibiscus leaves, which she tore and mashed to extract a slimy, soapylike substance, and left with the other girls to wash her hair. Regular bathing between the age of 1 and 5 is sporadic. During [857] the summer it is more frequent, for the older children take their younger siblings to the rivers for bathing and swimming.

At irregular intervals during the winter young children are bathed behind the house, near the kitchen doorway, by their mothers or older sisters. A little hot water added to the cold eases their discomfort. During the holiday season mothers and older girls were observed dragging and carrying screaming 2- to 4-year-olds to the bath.

864 As children get older, exposure of genitals is much less serious in the case of a boy than in the case of a girl. Little girls are told to sit like their mothers with their legs together and are never permitted to expose their genitals. This is true even for those young girls who are still without pants. Occasionally boys tease a little girl by shouting, "Your vagina is showing." Sexual manipulation between children, either homosexually or heterosexually, was never observed. The following observation illustrates the response of an older sibling to her 1-year-old sister, who attempts to imitate a urinating boy.

> A group of girls were playing with a ball and K. (4-year-old boy) came along. The girls objected to his presence and began to chase him away. K. then reached in his fly and brought out his penis. He began to urinate, pointing his penis up at the girls. The girls screamed and scattered to get out of reach of the urine. K. chased them briefly, urinating all the while, then stopped to brush. Just as he finished, M. (4-year-old girl), lifting the front of her dress, started to urinate in a standing position. Halfway done, she started to squat, but before she started to squat, her sister saw what was happening and yelled out in an angry voice, "M!" . . . then she went over to give the little girl a slap on the head.

Exhibitionism between boys occurs, and a urinating demonstration among boys with an erection is occasionally seen. Such behavior is not condoned by adults. Girls, however, almost always urinate alone at a short distance from the group. Children are shamed if one refers to their genitals as they approach school age. The separation between boys and girls, which increases with greater age, also discourages mutual play or sex experimentation.

855 ● 861 There are few other demands made of the kindergarten child. He

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

can still try to get his way by crying, and his mother willingly continues to give him food when he asks. One parent remarked that it was much easier to meet the child's demands. Observations confirmed this statement. Many adults simply say "Yes" and promise things to children which they promptly forget. Obedience is not expected except for conformity with safety rules. Until shortly before he starts off to school, the child's disobedience tends to be excused. "No, no!" says a mother to her year-old child who may be waving a piece of sugar cane around her head from his perch on her back. The child continues, and the mother pushes the stalk aside each time she is hit. "Know nothing," she says as she rearranges the stalk, to avoid being hit. "Don't mess the yard," screams a grandmother. "Stop puddling in that mud," shouts a father. "Go and bring me the hoe," commands a mother. To all these requests the child may turn a deaf ear, and chances are that he will escape being punished for not complying. Mothers admitted that they allow their children a great deal of leeway concerning obedience.

By instilling fear into the child about the dangers of the well, river and beach, the main road and paddies, adults attempt to enforce the rules of safety. Their attempts are negated, however, when they allow children of this age to play in these areas in the company of older siblings. No one coming across schoolchildren trailed by kindergarteners censures or points out the danger of these places; however, should an adult or older child come upon a group of kindergarten children playing alone at the river or beach, a word of caution or reprimand is sure to be offered.

In a village such as Taira with its closely situated houses, dry thatched roofs, and light wood walls, the danger of fire is very real; therefore the rule with respect to playing with fire and matches is stringently enforced regardless of the age of the child. One mother of a 4-year-old boy found smoke rising from the backyard one day. She went to the source of the smoke and found her 4-year-old busily striking matches and trying to whip up a fire. His 4-year-old companion was scurrying about for pieces of brush and paper with which to feed the fire. "I scolded him roundly, spanked him and tied his hands. I threatened to put him in a basket, then suspend the basket from the rafter posts the next time he played with matches. He was so frightened that I doubt whether he will ever play with matches again."

Aggression in children up to school age is generally tolerated although adults do not approve of such behavior. Because they feel that preschool children change their minds and moods so rapidly, adults do not interfere with their altercations. Parents laughingly explain,

865 "Play and fight are children's work." As one mother reported, "It is no
857 use. They fight and then before you know it, they are friends again.
[861] In Japan, parents often interfere with children's fights, but we here in Okinawa don't believe in doing so. It is much better to let them alone unless they injure one another. The way it is, it would make an adult look like a fool to interfere." Some parents attempt to channel aggression by calling a wrestling match between boys who start arguing. In this way, rock throwing and fighting with sticks are avoided, and the boys can work off their anger, but hitting, biting, and pushing, as well as rock throwing, were observed among children of this age. As the children approach school age and gain facility in language, they resort more and more to verbal aggression; however, as will be discussed later, some physical aggression is carried over in the behavior of boys toward girls. At no time is aggression toward younger children tolerated.

[124] Only after exhaustive questioning can one get parents to admit that they train their children to retaliate. "Never fight; if someone hits you, just walk away, for you (in thus showing your strength to resist) will win the fight; fighting is bad," instruct mothers, according to the mother interview. Informal talks nevertheless revealed that parents disliked it if their children are underdogs all the time.

865 Boys are expected to be more aggressive than girls, who are, ideally,
858 docile, gentle mannered, kind, reserved, and considerate. In some ways adults seem to train little boys to be aggressive. Beginning in infancy they tease and bully them, holding their arms and restricting them bodily, withdrawing desired objects and pretending to scold and hit. They glean great amusement at the expense of the child if he screams and strikes out in anger. The adult expresses surprise and mock anger. Finally, when he cries, everyone will laugh while the mother retaliates by playfully slapping the aggressor. While most of this kind of teasing is restricted to male infants and young boys, female children are not exempt.

865 Irritable, pushy children do not exist in Taira. Those who try to get
155 things by "walking over others" do not get far, for children ostracize and avoid them. One 4-year-old, observed over a period of months, altered his methods of acquiring goals from pushing and bullying to socially sanctioned techniques, such as asking, waiting his turn, and sharing. The change was startling. Adults passing on a group of children that included this former bully no longer had to scream warnings at him, and his mother felt she did not have to "look after him" any more. During the time of this study, only the children of a recently arrived fisherman and his wife were ostracized by parents as being far

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

too aggressive and ill behaved. The children played with them but never sought them out and often deserted them en masse when disagreements arose. Taira villagers blamed the parents in this case for being too lax and quarrelsome with each other.

Peer groups are another of the major agents of socialization for the young child. Child interview data intimate that censure by peers arouses much more anxiety than censure by parents. Refusal to comply with the demands of his peers in the face of punishment from his parents for complying raises in the mind of the child, the question, "Will he hate me for not doing what he asks?" Consequently the child chooses the support that is available to him the greater part of his day and calculates the risk of adult censure quite logically.

In despair, one mother described how her 5-year-old boy rushes into the kitchen daily and demands to be given his lunch standing on the dirt floor. Despite his parents' instructions to wash his feet and sit properly on the raised portion of the room to eat, the boy scrambled on all fours and hung his unwashed feet over the edge and shoveled his rice down his throat because "his friends were waiting for him."

As mentioned above, the village as a whole acts as another socialization agent. However, although various members shout warnings in attempts to stop children from disapproved behavior, they do not punish them. Their function seems to be one of casual reminding.

When a child turns 5, he is faced with a dramatic change. Parents now begin to treat him like a school child. New independence and responsibility are expected, and an attempt is made to prepare him for first grade.

*
*
*

Chapter 16

First Grade

Entry into first grade constitutes a change of status for the child in Taira. It means more than just less play time and adjustment to strict routines, for now he is considered capable of knowing what he is

857 by bystanders. Hurrying home, they put their books away carefully,
[291] change their clothing to that designated for play. The girls, eager to assume their new status and the responsibilities that go with it, hurriedly sweep and mop the floors of the house. The boys, who are less interested, rush out to play. Those with younger siblings are promptly
857 entrusted with caretaking duties, and mothers and grandmothers go
512 off to the fields.

At 8 o'clock each evening, even before the village bell is sounded for schoolchildren to start studying, the first graders are on their way home from their after-supper play time. On a quiet, still night their voices are loud and clear and their recitations spirited in comparison with those of the older children.

OBEDIENCE TRAINING

● 861 Not only in school is new behavior expected of the first grader. He
865 must now be more obedient toward his elders. Adults, however, differentiate between commands for the performance of tasks and rules of safety. The standard, or more specifically the ideal, would be to command unquestioned obedience in both cases. The practice falls far from this mark, for adults lack persistence and consistency in the
[855] treatment of task performance. Obedience to rules of safety, however, is enforced with greater consistency.

There is, of course, the disposition of the adult at the time when obedience is expected, which the child learns to discriminate very early. Children are more apt to obey their elders when the latter are tired and irritable after a hard day's work than when they are relaxed. It was interesting to observe children teasing parents and escaping obedience when the adults were relatively relaxed. "Bring me those things there," a parent would command a child. The child would laughingly shout "No," and run away without punishment. For this disobedient act a child would be spanked if the parent were tired and harassed. "If you do not listen well to adults, you will grow up to be a good for nothing, a criminal," warns a mother. But adults in their inconsistent handling fail to impress on children the virtue of obedience.

861 It is interesting that, in their relationship with adults other than
865 their parents, children are often more obedient. People of special status and authority enjoy greater obedience from children. Teachers
554 and village officials usually find their orders fulfilled. Shortly after the new water faucets were installed throughout the village, children be-

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

gan playing with them excessively. Parents scolded, shooed, and threatened the children to no avail. Finally the village headman took steps to enforce the rule forbidding children to play with the faucets. Passing a faucet one day, he came upon a 9-year-old turning the water on and off. "You come to the office later. You know you are not supposed to play there," he said sternly to the boy. Later the boy reported to the office. The clerk, in the absence of the headman, instructed the boy to bring 10 yen and his father to the office. The boy ran home and returned to the office with 10 yen and told the headman, who had returned meanwhile, that his father was not back from the fields, so he was unable to accompany him. The headman's wife, in relating the story to the fieldworker, described how surprised and amused her husband was to find the boy so obedient. Because he had just assumed office a week earlier, he had not expected compliance with his orders.

An obedient child is rewarded with verbal praise and admiration by adults. He is told that he is a good child and that he has "a good head." If he is capable of anticipating commands and quick to comply with hints, parents of other children urge their children to play with him.

TECHNIQUES OF SOCIALIZATION

Although the child has learned many types of preferred behavior by the time he is 6 and has been rewarded and punished for many acts, his entry into first grade is a time of increased discipline and a suitable time to discuss the techniques used by Tairans in socializing their children.

Examination of the different techniques reveals that the most important and reliable of these is the denial or withdrawal of love. There is a good share of physical punishment, threatened food deprivation, and shaming. Praise and rewards are inconsistent and haphazard. Reference to a "God" is common, but there exists no complex system of instructive myths, stories, or prayers. Training in skills is highly informal.

The technique of withdrawal of love or support is a curious double-edged one. If we take the position of the child, we would conclude that he shows a deep sense of confidence in the bond between himself and his mother when he "runs away from the house" after a severe scolding or spanking. He runs away in the belief that he will arouse the anxiety of his mother and recover a love or support, which he has temporarily lost as a result of some transgression. This belief is rein-

861 forced when his mother does search for him and takes him home. Furthermore, she serves him the dinner which he was to have been deprived of as punishment. This theme apprears not only in reality but also in the children's projections in the verbal TAT's. [125]

There are, however, threats of withdrawal of love by the mother which evoke great fear of actual loss of love among children. These fears are based on the fact that, in contrast with the foregoing examples, no happy ending can be expected from this threatened punishment. The child is no longer confident that his mother's feelings will soften in the long run when she says to a disobedient son: "We will sell you to the Itoman fisherman." The boy has undoubtedly heard stories of little boys being sold to southern Okinawan fishermen. Such words make him quake with fear, and he promises to obey. Girls, on the other hand, are told they will be "changed for money" and made to live a life of virtual slavery in the house of strangers. These threats have a realistic basis; children know that until recent times boys were sold to fishermen and that girls paid off their parents' debts by working in a house of prostitution or for a farmer who accepted the extra hand instead of money for his debt. At least two persons still live in the village who had such experiences when they were young. One woman can testify to the mistreatment which she received from her masters during indentured labor, and such stories of many cases which are widely known are passed on to children. [466] [548]

At present a new twist has been added to the old theme. Mothers silence a crying child with, "If you don't stop crying, we will give you to the Negroes." Now and then a grandmother will point to a jeep full of soldiers passing by and warn, "Eh! Come home now or we give you to the Americans." The response is usually immediate. The frightened child runs home, clutching onto his grandmother's kimono while the old woman cackles with amusement. [648]

Some mothers threaten their children with running away themselves and leaving them with their fathers. This technique proves just as effective as the former, for a child's concept of support or love with respect to his father is never clearly defined.

One mother, after a particularly exasperating day, thought she would make good her threat to run away from the house. She packed some clothes in a bundle and started off in the direction of the main road. Quickly ducking around houses, she ended up a couple of houses away from her own and sat sipping tea with her neighbor in the back room. Meanwhile, the child, who had been hiding from her mother all day to avoid chores, discovered that her mother was missing. She started to search the village and was told by cooperating adults that

they had seen her mother leaving the village with a bundle of her clothes. The child became frantic and ran around the houses. When she finally found her mother, she was crying hysterically. After this, the mother reported that all she had to do was to threaten to run away and her children would obey. 861

Young children between the ages of 3 and 6 who have frequent temper tantrums are subjected to an experience which is apt to have lasting effects. Since Taira adults like teasing play, when a mother needs the aid of a neighbor to teach the naughty child a lesson, she has no difficulty. A mother who was having trouble keeping her youngest son, aged 4, from whining and crying all the time talked it over with her next-door neighbor. The neighbor, an old grandmother, suggested a plan to put a stop to this nonsense. That night, as the child whimpered and whined to attract his mother's attention, the mother warned, "If you don't stop that, the ghost will come." The boy wailed louder. From between the hedges down the lane, there suddenly came the sound of slow, shuffling footsteps. "There, there! Listen! Here it comes to get you!" called the mother to the boy, who had stopped his whimpering to listen. The boy sat round-eyed watching the clearing in the hedge until suddenly there appeared the apparition. He screamed and ran to his mother, who stifled his cries with, "Eh, now, if you cry, it will take you away, shush!" The fear-paralyzed boy could only nod his head. The next day the old grandmother screamed with laughter as she reported the incident to others in the village. She had worn an old straw hat, a large black coat, and wooden clogs. In the dark she could be distinguished only as a dark, formless "blob" scuffling along. Warnings thereafter to the boy took the form of, "If you cry, we will give you to the ghost." 861 865

A heavily bearded, jolly and well-liked octopus fisherman who carries a large bag and talks with a booming voice was requested to walk past another mother's house when her boy became too demanding. "There, see now, here comes the man with the big bag to carry you away because you are so naughty." As the boy huddled up to his mother, she chose that moment to extract from him a promise to be a good child.

All mothers reported that they talk or scold first, and if the child does not respond, they spank. Only two out of the 24 mothers interviewed disclaimed spanking at all. Usually mothers spanked the child with their hand but seven mothers said they use a piece of firewood or bamboo. One mother laughingly reported that she uses "anything she can lay her hands on at that moment" to punish her 10-year-old boy, because if she did not, he would disappear. 861

861 Physical punishment is much more frequent than the mothers' [124] interview answers would lead one to believe. In parent-child or sib- [593] ling interactions observed by us, the scolding or talking was usually simultaneous with a sharp crack on the head with the knuckles or a slap on the buttocks. It is true that a great deal of leeway is generally given the child, but mothers home from a strenuous day in the fields are more apt to scream and spank at the same time.

Tying of hands or feet for several minutes, or as much as an hour, is considered appropriate punishment for those who trespass into forbidden areas or play with taboo things like matches. Sometimes the child's wrists are tied with a piece of rice-straw rope to the front house posts. One 1-year-old boy wandered down to the beach to play with his 3-year-old cousin despite repeated warnings from his mother to the effect that this area was dangerous. Because he disobeyed this rule, he was tied hand and foot. In addition, he was spanked because at the same time he had abandoned his younger brother in the village to go to the beach with his cousin.

861 Another type of physical punishment, which is often threatened but 857 rarely used, is cauterizing a piece of skin on the neck, back, or hands with moxa. Children in play situations frequently act out giving moxa to a naughty child with a lot of teasing and mock anger. "Come here, you naughty one, we will give you moxa," they scream to each other. A 1-year old girl was cauterized by her father when she threw her chop- [261] sticks on the floor in a fit of anger. Because he believed that food was not only the product of hard labor but also a sort of blessing from the gods, he felt that this very painful enforcement was just.

861 Grandmothers, in particular, use pinching to enforce some rules of 867 etiquette. If a child forgets and extends his foot toward another person, she will take the flesh of the leg between her thumb and index finger, lift it and with a quick twist administer a punishment which is very painful. After the initial experience, all she has to do is to put her hand in position for pinching to her lips and breathe out audibly as if to say, "I'm warming up!" and the child will correct himself.

861 Older brothers and sisters are apt to be "quicker with the hand," ac- 593 cording to mothers. Generally they agreed that this may be the reason [857] for their effectiveness in handling their younger charges. Frequently all an older sibling needs to do is to raise a warning hand, look disapprovingly, or call with a stern voice when his charge is about to misbehave.

Although mothers do most of the spanking, scolding, and talking, children fear their fathers a great deal more than they do their mothers. Mothers claim that this is true in most cases and offer an ex-

planation: "Maybe this is because the children know well our strength. They don't know their father's strength but believe somehow that it could be much more painful." One could, of course, relate this to the cultural concept of maleness as opposed to femaleness as discussed previously.

Praising and rewarding are techniques that are administered in a very haphazard fashion in Taira. While the child is still very young, up until he is about 2, praise and rewards are lavished on him for almost anything. If he responds to his mother's entreaties to hand over a stick with which he might hurt himself or to bow when meeting someone, he is hugged, kissed, and told over and over, "Good child, good child."

As the child grows older, these extravagant displays of praise and reward lessen. Instead the child may receive promises of something good to eat or a coveted article of clothing in return for some good deed or commendable behavior. Generally the child has to remind his mother many times before he is actually rewarded. By the time the child is of school age he takes these promises with a grain of salt and usually forgets them himself. Only when the children were questioned by us on rewards did it become obvious that parents promised a great deal more than they could ever hope to produce. For, from the plain view of economics, no family could purchase all the goodies pledged for good behavior. Nevertheless, for younger children these promises mean something, and they always look forward to the day when their mothers will color their evening rice red or make them some fried dumplings. Rewarding a child with food proves to be as effective a technique of socialization as threatening to deprive him of food.

Occasionally, in a rare burst of enthusiasm, parents may reward a child to make up for all the empty promises. During one of the rice harvests, a 10-year-old boy worked alongside his parents with as much concentrated effort as any adult. All day he stayed in the fields without running away to join his playmates, as some other boys his age did. At the end of the day his mother prepared some festive food. She colored the rice, and the dinner was a merry one. The man from next door who had helped out that day sat drinking sake with the boy's father. "Here, why don't you have some sake, you did as much work as any of us," offered the father. Neighbor and mother urged the boy on and laughed merrily as the boy sipped a bit of the sake.

Even before he is able to understand the significance of the words, a child in Taira is praised and censured with "good child," and "naughty child." Especially during infancy, mothers will tease babies by gently slapping them and saying over and over with mock anger,

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

● 861 "naughty child." When the child is about 5 months and capable of responding to smiles and a disapproving eye, his mother will murmur affectionately, "good child," to encourage and praise. She will open her eyes wide, assume a disapproving look, and scold, "naughty child, naughty child," to discourage and censure him.

A 7-year-old girl was carrying a large winnowing basket filled with potato peelings from her uncle's house to her own. Behind her trailed her 3-year-old brother who was well known for his crying. Suddenly, for no apparent reason, the little boy started to scream and cry for his sister to carry him. The 7-year-old tried to no avail to get the boy to follow her. She shifted the basket to her head, stooped down, and the boy scrambled onto her back. With some effort she stood up, one hand on the basket and the other around the boy's buttocks. The boy clung to his sister's neck and grinned. "Naughty child," murmured the field-worker's companion, a 23-year-old girl. To the 7-year-old girl she then turned and said admiringly, "Good child that you are!"

'Be a good child and do this . . ." instructs an adult to a child. "Naughty child that you are, making your sister cry," one child is chided by another. Praising and punishing by referring to the person of the child as the locus of evaluation are most frequent. The child's action itself, or his response to a particular situation, is usually not evaluated. Very few adults set a standard which is intended as a guide to the child's performance of a task. Therefore children who have completed a task do not ask themselves: "Did I do it well?" or "Did I do it poorly?" If scolded for inadequate performance, the child may echo reprimands by saying to himself: "I was bad to do it that way," or "I was bad to do that" and not: "That was a bad thing to do."

Words which evaluate the person rather than the action are generally applied only to children under 12, although occasionally one hears a young adult say to another teasingly, "Ah, good child," in praise or "naughty child" in response to being tricked.

861 776 [124] Of the 24 mothers interviewed, only three reported they did not refer to a deity to control their children's behavior. This deity is always present, always watching and can be depended on to punish the erring child. To the child, this god is a being to be feared, although he is told that not only his misbehavior is observed but also his good behavior. "The divine being is everywhere. When you are alone and do something bad, you might think that no one knows about it, but the god knows and he will punish you," warn mothers. This technique of control is very useful in Taira, where the children spend a great deal of time without adult supervision.

In the houses of first sons there are family altars upon which memorial tablets of family ancestors are placed. Children from these homes are told that their deceased grandfathers are now divine beings and are watching them. In one such family a 4-year-old boy was told by his mother that, since he was naughty, the divine ancestor would punish him. She pointed to the picture of his deceased grandfather and the memorial tablets on the altar. The little boy looked up to the shelf and then to his mother. "That's only a memorial tablet," he said sneeringly.

Not many children are as skeptical as this 4-year-old. A hunchbacked storyteller sometimes comes to Taira. This man is a preacher for a Japanese sect which combines Japanese nationalistic teachings and concepts of proper conduct and healthful living with a belief in a supreme being. He appeals to children and reinforces the belief in the sanctioning power of God. Occasionally a Christian missionary visits the village, and the children look forward to his bible readings, which also reinforce the belief. In addition, the children of the two Christian families help to caution others, warning of divine omnipresence and knowledge.

Shaming and ridicule as techniques of socialization are used to a fair extent. An older child's shortcomings may frequently be compared with a younger's achievements. However, some form of verbal lashing is usually accompanied by direct physical punishment, whether it be merely a slap on the buttocks, a crack on the head, or a whipping.

Several mothers summed up their flexibility in handling their children by saying, "I have so many children and it seems that each one is different in some way. For some children one thing works and for others you have to think of other ways. You cannot scold this one because she is so sensitive. The boy you cannot scold because he would get so angry he would not be able to understand the wrong he did."

Nevertheless, it is important to point out that mothers in Taira, for the most part, do not spend as much time with their children as do their counterparts in a more wealthy village. Their work day is long and strenuous. They return home exhausted and impatient. During the long rainy spells, when work in the fields and mountains is impossible, mothers have to stay home more often than usual. At such times they manifest an irritability with respect to the numerous demands children make upon them that can be attributed partly to the fact that their long absence from home during a normal work day makes them forget children's cravings for attention; the loss of income during bad weather just increases their impatience.

857 a type of milkweed which was to be fed to the chickens. The older boy
868 would walk on a way, carefully searching the ground, stop when he spotted some milkweed, and call to the younger ones, "There are some near the spot on which I am standing!" The two little boys would rush over and start examining the area carefully. With a shout one of them would drop to the ground, uproot the plant, and bear it triumphantly to his older cousin. Then the game would continue with the older boy saying, "Good child."

861 The relatively few restrictions placed on the young child are an important basis for learning. By being able to participate freely, children learn what is going on in their village from day to day. Since adults feel that children do not really understand what they are talking about, conversations are free and not couched in mysterious terms. The 10-year-old who is fully aware of the subject under discussion may giggle uncontrollably, but none of the adults pays attention to this. An adult giving a blow-by-blow description of the latest quarrel may even turn to a 10- or 12-year-old child for aid when he forgets a detail.

SOCIALIZING AGENTS

855 In general mothers continue to be the chief socializers, with the
593 grandmother and older siblings second in importance. From the
861 child's point of view, the mother retains the closest bond with him throughout childhood, regardless of the grandmother's prominent role in his early life, and even though, in terms of time which the child spends with others, the mother gradually assumes less importance. It is to the mother that children turn for ultimate support, and to her is delegated the responsibility of child rearing in Taira. Although much of the responsibility for caring for children is given to siblings, the villagers hold the mother alone culpable, should a child deviate in his behavior.

855 The mother's ultimate responsibility for the child is not reduced
857 by the fact that she may spend a great part of the day away from her
593 offspring. Mothers frequently ask other children for the whereabouts of a son or a daughter. Just as the fieldworkers soon learned in what places they would be most likely to find a particular child, so mothers on the whole are aware of their children's favorite play areas. A
[152] mother occasionally inquires about her children's whereabouts without showing anxiety. The fieldworkers were once asked by a mother if they knew where her daughter, who carried an infant sister, was

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

593
855
857

playing. They had not come home for the noon meal, which was unusual. The mother, however, did not search extensively, for the fieldworkers, a little later, noticed the two girls peacefully playing "house" in someone's backyard. They stayed for a good part of the afternoon, and the mother probably continued her usual activities.

The relationship between child and mother remains warm and intimate throughout childhood. A mother may be scolding, impatient, angry, or punishing, but to the child she is the center of the family.

603
855

In households lucky enough to have a grandmother, she becomes recognized as the person who is at home if something is wanted or if help and comfort are needed. It is interesting to note, however, that the relationship between children and their grandmothers changes decidedly as the child starts off to school. As if to assert his independence, the 6-year-old begins teasing his grandmother unmercifully. In response to her suggestions, the child laughingly refuses and pretends to run away or often pretends not to hear her. As she screams all kinds of invectives at the child, he giggles hilariously while running ahead. But he does not run as fast as he could. He allows grandmother to catch him, and there is much laughter from both of them. Actually the child rarely fails to comply with her wishes. Two girls, aged 8 and 10, and a young female adult aged 23 often saved a part of their share of goodies, given them by the fieldworker, for their grandmothers. The 10-year-old lavished further indulgence by taking her grandmother's clothing along with her own to launder on washdays.

Boys seem to differ somewhat in this respect. Although there is a very affectionate bond between them and their grandmothers, there is less of this kind of indulgent pattern. They will, however, at the time they start off to school, meet with the old women's demands to run errands, carry tools, and share with her the care of their younger siblings.

855
593
861

Because the society feels that child rearing is "women's work," males have little or nothing to do with the handling of children until the time when decisions as to their future have to be made. There need be only one qualification made with reference to the above statement and it is that fathers may serve as "last resort" disciplinary figures in the case of male children. For many mothers the most effective threat is to "report to father."

The father is not so forbidding a figure for the child of preschool age. Many observations show that fathers tolerate the kindergarten child who begs to be taken to parties or on laps while visiting with neighbors; however, an older sibling or mother was called as soon

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

855 as the child began to fuss or show signs of fatigue. The kindergarten
593 child often directs his succorant appeals to his father, particularly
in a nuclear family, but the father in turn directs the child to his
●861 mother. Should there be any discrepancy in thought as to the way
a child should be handled in specific problematic situations, the
mother will defer out of custom to the father. Such cases, however,
are rare, for men, in informal interviews, generally felt that "women
[124] knew better" where children's affairs were concerned. Only one out
of 24 fathers believed that he should "train and discipline" the male
child and his wife should confine herself to the female children.

The school age child seems to have more fear of his father. "If father is at home," reports one mother, "the children returning from school go about quietly putting their books away, clean the yard, study, then take the younger siblings out with them to play." She added, "If father is not at home, they drop their books on the porch and run out to play, leaving the house and yard in a mess and me with the babies!"

593 It should be noted that fathers spend less time at home than any
other member of the household. Men who work in the mountains
512 go out after the morning meal and often do not return until dark.
A man returning at noon seldom sees the children, who are out playing or at school. Since there are no weekly rest days, children see their fathers mainly in the evening after dark or on holidays. But even then fathers spend their time visiting around or entertaining neighbors and relatives in their own homes. Contact with father is, there-
593 fore, only sporadic and is not affected by a special desire on the part
855 of fathers to spend time with children. It should be noted, however, that the mere presence of the father in the house has an effect on the child's behavior.

Next to mother and grandmother, older children in the household are very important child-rearing agents. These are mostly the older siblings, but occasionally a young unmarried aunt or uncle who lives with the family looks after a child. Children between the ages
[857] of 5 and 12 take care of younger children; adolescent siblings or aunts do so to a much lesser extent. The obvious reason for this is that in the distribution of duties in the home, the care of a younger child falls to those who are not otherwise burdened with such responsibilities as exacting studies during junior high school or economic activities in fields and mountains, which begin after graduation from school. While adults, except for the old folks, are in fields and mountains, a young child spends much of his time on the back of the older kindergarten or school age sibling or as a toddler in tow of an older one.

21Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

no longer one of the "senseless" by praise for responsible behavior. After a relatively brief period of fairly consistent verbal reward, however, parents assume the attitude that chores are not voluntary but compulsory, and they begin to pay more attention to omissions—reminding, threatening, and checking up on the children. Although punishment is rather inconsistent, a child of 9 or 10 finds his chances of escape very slim if he fails to be responsible. But if he carries out some task spontaneously, he may find himself amply rewarded. Children generally seem to react more responsibly to school duties than home duties. This may be because teachers utilize peer group control to elicit responsible behavior by rewarding and punishing in the presence of the whole class.

Girls assume caretaking of younger siblings earlier and more seriously than boys. A 6-year-old girl may be entrusted with a younger sibling during a whole afternoon. A boy, looking after a younger child, is more likely to abandon or neglect his charge than a girl. In families where there are several children of caretaking age, each is assigned a specific share of time. Inevitably the girls find themselves with the greater or entire portion of this duty, for the boys either simply refuse or evade assuming their share. This shirking of duty is partly supported by the mother, who, by her failure to enforce assignments, displays passive acceptance or approval of the boys' actions. A girl, however, invites censure not only from her mother but also from other girls for similar actions.

The most important factor in differential treatment of boys and girls is a cultural one. Most of the tasks or chores assigned to both are, on the adult level, performed by women. Cutting and gathering grass for horses and goats is men's work, but mopping floors, tidying and sweeping yards, fetching water, cleaning lamps, caring for chickens and pigs, and looking after children are all tasks that are "women's work" in Taira village. It is therefore evident that girls derive some intrinsic reward from them, whereas they may be intrinsically punishing for boys.

The difference in parental expectation with regard to children's increasing responsibility with age is reflected in these selected answers from interviews with mothers to the question: "What chores do you expect your child to do?" The mother of a 5-year-old boy said: "His work is to play down at the beach. But his older brother (11 years) is such a big help. . . . If I am busy, I may ask him to feed the pig, watch H. (baby sister) or clean the house, fetch water or wood, and Y. will do it without saying anything." The mother of another 11-year-old boy put it this way: "His job is to see to it that the chickens are

857 fed every day. This is a job for him, and if he does not do it he gets
866 a scolding. . . . My husband does not believe in letting him play too much, and so K. has to take his job seriously—otherwise he will get scolded by his father."

The mother of a 5-year-old girl, after mentioning that she washes her own hair and shoes, said, "The day before yesterday she helped me clean up the place after eating, and so I told her that if she would do this two times a day for me, she would get one yen. She said she would do it, but I don't expect much because she is still
● [861] too young." The girl's father is a township employee, but giving one yen as reward is also done by other mothers when they feel that a child has done more than can be expected at that age. Of her 8-year-old daughter, a mother says that "she can mop the floor, fetch water, watch the baby, and serve rice into the bowls at dinner time. But she does not really have to do these chores regularly. Whenever I am busy I ask her to do these things for me," and she adds that her girl very seldom refuses, but "if she should not do what I ask her to, I scold her." And the mother of another girl, 7 years old, tells that her daughter's job is "to mop the floor every day. She knows that it
[861] is her responsibility and she has to do it. When she does not do it, she gets a scolding until she does it. She usually does it, though, with-
[855] out too much difficulty." Only a few mothers point to care of younger siblings as one of the duties. It simply seems to be taken for granted so much that it is not even mentioned.

857 An enthusiastic 6-year-old girl surprised her mother one day, not
866 long after starting school, by taking the family laundry to the well
296 and washing it. When she returned, she hung out the wash carefully to dry, then went out to join her playmates. The mother came home, examined the wash, and found that it still needed a good scrubbing. Quickly gathering the once-washed clothing, she hurried down to the well. She chose a path around the back of the house to avoid being seen by her daughter. That night she thanked the girl for doing the wash and helping her so much. "I did not want to hurt her feelings by telling her that the washing was still dirty. It was fortunate that she did not see me going down to wash it the second time, for if she did, she would have been discouraged and might never have done it again," reported the mother.

857 The community as a whole also makes some demands on these
866 children of school age. Several times a year they sweep the streets
653 and adjoining public areas in the morning, before they leave for school.

Children seem to have an ambivalent attitude toward greater pres-

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

"I would do my work first and then go out to play, whether my parents are home or not."

The mother of a younger boy reported that he is so anxious to rejoin his playmates that he barely gives himself time enough at home to eat his meal. It is our feeling that it is not just the desire to play which pulls children away from assigned tasks, but the urge to be with peers. The attitude of mothers encourages play groups. They tell their children: "Do not play alone; go and play with others. If you play alone, people might think that others dislike you." As one mother put it: "It looks so lonely when (my child) is playing alone." Only one mother, whose child-rearing methods in general deviate from those of others because she and her husband set high achievement goals and standards for their child, said that she would like to have her son play alone occasionally. In this way she hoped he would devote some time to educational activities. It is interesting, however, that several mothers mentioned the names of other children whom they considered unsuitable playmates for their child, either because they were too bossy, or too aggressive, or had otherwise undesirable qualities in their judgment. If, however, there is selectivity among children on the basis of their parents' desires, we were not aware of it.

Peers assume increasing importance as socializing agents as they grow older. Schoolchildren of the same age watch and control each other so that there is hardly need for interference by adults. Older children remind younger ones who neglect a crying young sibling to attend to his needs. Failure to respond to the succorant pleas of a younger sibling meets with disapproval. Peers rarely interfere directly with the activities of others, but do so by remarks to each other, and by other indirect means through which they achieve compliance or conformity. There are some obvious situations when outright commands by an older child are needed. For example, when a 3-year-old girl pulled the plug from the concrete water tank and was immediately frightened by the stream of water pouring out, a 6-year-old girl nearby called, "Close it," and watched as the little one hurriedly put the plug into place. Hardly ever does one hear children taking the role of an adult in trying to demand conformity from peers with rules set by adults. Only the boy mentioned earlier, whose parents make determined efforts to train him toward responsibility and achievement, occasionally attempts to correct the behavior of peers by talking like an adult. He always does it in a quasi-nurturant, responsible manner, perhaps because he strongly identifies with his father, one of the village leaders.

Parents do not like their children to become "leaders." Almost all

followed by "nee?", "isn't it so?" In this manner the adult communicates what little that must be communicated to these sub-human beings that are constantly underfoot. To other adults he uses other verb forms, other words, longer and more tightly integrated sentences. He does so, I believe, confident that he is speaking over the heads of the children, though he would deny that this was his motive; his use of different forms in addressing adults would be more likely explained as motivated by respect for the adults. I believe that in this manner Okinawan children are mentally more isolated from adults than are American children, though physically they are in greater contact with them. In time, of course, children learn to understand the conversation of their elders, but they do so without asking questions or overtly showing much interest. Thus very gradually they come into the adult world. 858 171 198

The interpretation just presented is more an hypothesis that seeks to explain some features of Okinawan behavior than a fact that can be indisputably demonstrated. But it suggests a reason, though probably not the only one, for the strong tendency to retain Okinawan as the language of the home, even in families where the adults speak Japanese fairly well, regard it as superior, and use it on formal occasions. Okinawan is suitable for addressing children. Adults unconsciously prefer it because it makes it that much easier for them to differentiate between the speech used in addressing children and that used in addressing adults. Moreover, I believe this interpretation agrees with what appears to be a marked tendency in Okinawan society for the educated deliberately to talk over the heads of the uneducated. I will discuss this again under the heading education. 858 197 198 [196]

Discipline Parents appear to want their children to be agreeable in their relations with others and industrious at school. They praise the gentle (J. 'otonashii') child and the good student. Yet they seem to tolerate noisiness, disregard for property, and to some extent disregard for person, though they may be more tolerant of this sort of behavior in boys than in girls. On one occasion Pitts and Lebra presented an old man with several photographs that they had taken of him and his grandson. As they handed the photographs to the old man, the boy snatched one and in doing so tore it. The old man was visibly hurt at the loss of the photograph, but said nothing to the child at all. On the other hand one of us also once saw a grandmother reach over and pinch a somewhat older girl quite severely because she was lying with her legs apart. 867

Where behavior thought to be of a more serious nature is concerned, parents do attempt to control their children. They do so by coaxing, bribing, threatening, teasing, scolding, and, for most as a last resort, by corporal punishment. Scolding takes such forms as "dirty!", "shameful!", "You will be laughed at", etc. While being scolded the child need not answer; he may simply look at the ground and remain silent. Since he is not expected to answer he may be less inclined to construct elaborate excuses in the manner of the American child. The threats include such things as "we'll send you away", "we'll sell you to the Itoman people" (to a boy), "we'll sell you to the juri" (to a girl), "we'll give you to the Americans", "we'll call the police", "we'll call a cat (or some kind of bogey) to scare you," "you'll receive divine retribution." Since children are sometimes put out of the house as 861

[56] punishment, the threat to send a child away is not an idle one. Nor is the threat to sell a child. Children are still sold, though poverty is doubtless the principal reason. The use of the threat to sell in dealing with a recalcitrant child undoubtedly has an effect both on the outlook of the child who because of poverty is actually sold and on the attitudes of others toward him.

Physical punishments include such measures as a slap on the buttocks, a sharp blow on the head with the knuckles---especially with the joint of the middle finger protruding from the clenched fist, a pinch on the fleshy part of the thigh. These last two are particularly used by older women and are rather severe so that after a few experiences the child is likely to be impressed by the threat. Instead of putting the child out of the house, a parent or grandparent may confine the child by tying him to a post of the house or tying him and putting him into a box up on the storage shelf on the rafters.
[57] Another treatment is to have moxa burned on the skin. This is a recognized medical practice and its use is interpreted as curative rather than punitive.

The following occurred in a family that occupied a quarter of a city house. The mother was told by one neighbor that another neighbor was telling people that she had observed, through a crack in the wall between their sections of the house, the seven-year old son of the first woman kissing his twelve-year-old sister and displaying his genitals to her. The mother was nearly frantic with worry about the story. She confronted her son and asked him what had happened. He said he didn't know. The mother then said, "Mother saw it, so tell me about it." The boy repeated that he did not know what she was talking about. Then she said, "The kami-sama (gods) saw it, so you can't hide it." He remained silent. Then she said, "Tomorrow we'll go to the police station and then maybe we'll find out what happened." The boy continued to remain silent. Nothing at all came of the matter. The mother later concluded that the gossipy neighbor, with whom she was not on speaking terms anyway, may have made the story up. The mother's statement that she had seen what happened was an outright lie and if the story was false the boy must have known it was a lie, or he could easily have concluded that it was a lie from the very manner in which it was said. The threat to take him to the police of course never materialized; it may have been an old one and therefore also recognized as an empty threat. It is possibly significant that the mother questioned the boy rather than his older sister.

A good example of punishment devised to fit the crime is provided by the following incident reported by Lebra. An old woman lived alone with her grandson, a boy of seven or so. The boy was rather mischievous and on several occasions started fires in the house. The grandmother scolded him for it at first but the last time he did it she used more drastic measures. She caught him, tied him to a house-post, tore two long strips of paper, stuffed an end of each up one of his nostrils, and lit a match to the free ends that dangled down at his waist. As the smoke curled up into his nose and the flames licked nearer, he screamed and promised never to play with matches again. Before he was burned the grandmother removed the burning strips of paper. When she was satisfied that he would reform, she untied him. She

later told the story to Lebra in the child's presence with a good deal of relish, while the boy merely looked sheepish and said nothing. 861

Punishment may be by either parent or by a grandparent. Other relatives may scold. I once observed a four-year-old being scolded long and shrilly by her father's sister. I asked why the mother, who was just inside the house, did not do the scolding and I was told that the child would not mind her mother and so the aunt had had to step in. I was also given the impression that the child's mother would hardly have dared defend her. It seems likely that mothers and grandmothers punish most frequently but that fathers, though they punish less frequently, are more severe; they are certainly more feared. It is said that after a child is punished it is usually comforted by the adult who punished it. There are, of course, individual differences. One man at Nanahan was known to be particularly harsh with his children. Pitts observed him on one occasion chasing one of his children around the village with a strap.

Okinawan adults, especially women, frequently tease children. On two occasions I saw a particularly cocky little boy of three or four teased in a deliberate attempt to make him angry or to make him cry. On the first occasion one of his aunts, his mother's oldest sister, struck the boy's baby sister, pretending to hurt her. He was very fond of the baby and the object of the teasing seemed to be to arouse his sympathy to the point where he would have showed his emotions, at which point, I assume, the crowd of women would have laughed. This time the teasing was unsuccessful. On the second occasion his mother and her sisters told him first that I was going to take him away, then that I was going to take his little sister away, and produced other variations on this theme. After several minutes of this he went grimly over to his mother and began hitting her with his fists. The women all regarded this as great sport. No effort was made to stop him from hitting his mother. This sort of teasing seems to have amusement as its main object, but probably has other functions as well. It may possibly provide women a necessary outlet for feelings of hostility, especially against males. But it may also have the more important functions of producing in the child the desirable emotional responses---sympathy for the little sister, fear of losing her, fear of being separated from home---while at the same time conditioning the child to inhibit the expression of these emotions. 855 [154] [867] [152]

On another occasion I saw the mother of the children just mentioned hold out a lighted match in front of the baby until the baby, after regarding it in wonderment, reached out and was burned. The women watched expectantly and laughed when the baby cried, but in this case the act seemed more like deliberate instruction in the properties of fire than merely teasing. But as in teasing, the discomfort to the child is something not to be avoided but rather to be enjoyed. And as in teasing, the child learns to associate laughter with his own discomfort, or perhaps with his expression of his discomfort. He may thereby learn to avoid being laughed at because it is associated with discomfort, and to avoid the expression of discomfort because it brings laughter. [861] [155]

Two facts that have been introduced into this discussion should be restated and made more explicit. The first is that Okinawan child-training methods include the use of both verbal appeals and physical punishment. As a result of observations made during and shortly after the battle in 1945, Dr. J. C. Maloney reported[1] that Okinawans were very permissive with their children and did not use corporal punishment. It will be seen from the data just presented that while Okinawans are more permissive in many situations than Americans would be, they do in fact use severe physical punishment on occasion.

The second fact has to do with the contrast of "shame" versus "guilt" that has been presented by several writers on the character of the Japanese. Both Gorer and Benedict have asserted that the Japanese conform because they fear the ridicule of others whereas Westerners conform because they fear their own consciences; Japanese culture is a "shame culture" while ours is a "guilt culture".[2] Okinawan culture also seems to be primarily a shame culture. Okinawans clearly fear ridicule greatly, and this fear seems traceable to their early training. But there are also elements in Okinawan child training that would tend to produce something of the Western sort of fear that one may suffer for his wrong-doing regardless of whether he is found out or not. These are to be seen in the phrases "retribution will strike" (Okinawan bachi nu ataaing, Japanese 'bachi ga ataru') and "the gods saw you". Shame and guilt are doubtless not mutually exclusive. Both sanctions exist in Okinawan culture, shame being much the stronger.

Play Boys play with kites and tops. Girls play hop-scotch. Both, if they can afford it, get one or more of the numerous Japanese children's magazines that are filled with stories, comics, and a variety of make-it-yourself paper toys.

Boys catch insects and birds and fasten strings to them in order to jerk them back as they try to fly away, or in order simply to drag them around. They do so quite unconscious of any cruelty in the act. Adults appear to regard living things as proper playthings.

There may be less age-grading among smaller children than among older people or among children in present-day American society. Several boys of different ages were observed playing together on many occasions, mainly, it seemed, because they were related and lived in adjacent houses. The girls who occasionally joined them were also of the same group of related families.

Youth Traditionally, entering one's thirteenth year, for a girl, and fifteenth, for a boy, marks a change in status from that of child to that of youth (niisee, in J. 'seinen', literally "green years"). There was also a later ceremony at which the young man's hair was done in a knot; and the tattooing undergone by a young woman may have been part of a puberty rite. But at present, finishing one's schooling marks the greatest change in the life of a young person. At this time the treatment he receives and the behavior expected of him change markedly. As long as he is in school he is

1 Maloney, 1945, p. 394.

2 Gorer, 1943; Benedict, 1946, p. 223.